1: Jenness--28-31 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 175

"The first of the early explorers to reach the country of the Copper Eskimos was Samuel Hearne, who travelled overland with a party of Chipewyan Indians to the mouth of the Coppermine river in 1771. Just below Bloody fall they fell in with a band of Eskimos living in five tents on the west side of the river, all of whom they massacred. Another party living in seven tents on the eastern bank managed to make its escape, with the exception of one old man who was so intent on collecting his things that the Indians fell upon him before he could reach his canoe. Only two small pieces of iron were found in the spoils of the twelve tents. Hearne's party, afraid to linger any longer in this region, hastily returned to the south again, and for another half a century the Copper Eskimos were left undisturbed.

In 1819, Captain Franklin, afterwards Sir John Franklin, was placed in command of an expedition sent out to explore the north coast of America eastward from the mouth of the Coppermine river. In 1821 he reached the lower waters of the Coppermine, and found a party of Eskimos at the same place at which Hearne had encountered them, just below Bloody fall. Most of the natives fled, but Franklin was able to communicate with one family, from which he learned that the tribe called themselves Naggeooktormoeoot, or Deer-Horn Esquimaux, that they usually frequented the Bloody fall during June and the following months for the purpose of salting [?] salmon, then retired to a river which flows into the sea a little farther west (Richardson river) and passed the

winter in snow-houses.

Leaving these Eskimos, Franklin proceeded by boat along the coast to the eastward as far as Point Turnagain. At various places he came on fresh traces of Eskimo settlements, but nowhere did he see the Eskimos themselves. On the return journey he ascended the Hood river for some distance, then struck overland to Fort Providence, on Great Slave lake. No white man since Franklin has ever made this journey, but the Eskimos of the present day follow almost the same route, though some of them ascend the Tree river instead of the Hood.

Richardson and Kendall, in the course of Franklin's second expedition in 1826, travelled eastward from the Mackenzie river in two boats, the Dolphin and the Union. They encountered first the Eskimos of Kittigaryuit village, in the Mackenzie delta, the inhabitants of which 'had heard of the Esquimaux at the mouth of the Coppermine river, and knew them by their name of "Naggoe-ook-tor-moe-oot" (or Deer-horns), but said they were very far off, and that they had no intercourse with them, adding that all the inhabitants of the coast to the eastward were bad people.'

Farther east, these explorers saw recent footsteps of a small party of Eskimos on the beach in the neighbourhood of De Witt Clinton point. Again, 'five miles beyond the Harding river, on the extremity of a rocky cape, the Esquimaux had constructed several storehouses of drift timber, which were filled with dried deer's meat and seal-

blubber; along with which, cooking kettles, and lamps made of potstone, copper-headed spears, and various other articles, were carefully laid up. The ashes of the recently extinguished fires showed that the natives had quitted this place only a few days.'

It is reasonable to suppose that both the footprints and the storehouses were due to the same Eskimos, who were probably western natives, since the storehouses were built of wood. They bear out the present-day tradition amongst the Copper Eskimos that the two peoples had intercourse up to two generations [29] ago, i.e., until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century. No Copper Eskimos have ever been seen farther west than Stapylton bay, though traces of them exist as far as Wise point, where they seem to have met their western neighbours. Richardson noticed that they had marked most of the prominent points around Mount Barrow, at Cape Krusenstern, by erecting piles of stones similar to the cairns that the shepherds in Scotland build for landmarks, and adds that these erections were occasionally noticed after doubling Cape Parry, though they were not so numerous. This is precisely what one might expect in a region where two peoples overlapped. At Young point there were several caches of this nature, and near them were some typical implements of Copper Eskimo culture. In 1915, Dr. Anderson noticed about a dozen stone caches and three or four stone tent rings some two hundred yards inland from the sea, eight miles east of De Witt Clinton point. Even as far west as Langton bay these stone caches are found, though there some of them are

probably graves, since the western natives often covered their dead to protect them from wild animals and birds of prey. In the vicinity of the Burrow islands, Darnley bay, in 1911, Dr. Anderson discovered a stone cooking-pot broken and mended with copper splices, and a blubber pounder of musk-ox horn, objects that were undoubtedly made by Copper Eskimos.

Richardson and Kendall met none of the Copper Eskimos on this journey, though they found that a party had just quitted Bloody fall, probably frightened by the presence of white men. Back, however, encountered them when he descended the Back or Great Fish river in 1833. All down its course he had noticed their traces, and at Lake Franklin he finally came on a small party fishing. He remained with them only one day, but in that time succeeded in establishing cordial relations. Five years later, in 1838 and 1839, Dease and Simpson explored the coast from the mouth of the Coppermine to beyond Back river. In 1838 they saw two or three Eskimo families below Bloody fall, but the natives were alarmed at their presence and fled over the ice towards some distant islands. Eskimo caches were noticed at various points along the coast east of the Coppermine, placed upon lofty rocks out of reach of beasts of prey; but they saw none of their owners, who had all gone inland to hunt caribou after their winter seal-hunt among the islands. Close to Cape Turnagain was a place where three Eskimo tents had been pitched in the preceding year, with a little stone fire-place on one side, and

near Cape Franklin they passed the remains of a larger camp where there were several human skeletons; but they nowhere found recent traces of the people.

In the following year they were more successful. Some thirty Eskimos were encamped at Richardson river, and one family, whose tent was placed on an island in midstream, was left behind when the others fled precipitately to the hills. With this family the explorers were able to communicate, and while the information they gathered was of little value, they yet left a favourable impression on the natives which proved of much service to Richardson ten years later. East of Cape Alexander, Dease and Simpson saw vestiges of Eskimos wherever they landed, for the most part very old; but they never fell in with the natives again during their journey.

In 1848 Richardson again made the journey from the mouth of the Mackenzie to the Coppermine river, ascending the latter to Great Bear Lake. On this occasion he was accompanied by Rae, and the party was ferried across the mouth of the Rae river by the Eskimos. Rae returned in the two following years, and explored the coast of the mainland from Cape Lambert to Cape Alexander, and the south coast of Victoria island from Cape Back to Cape Alfred. Besides meeting his old acquaintances on the Rae river, he had an interview with three Eskimos near Cape Flinders, and saw others on a neighbouring island. He says of the Cape Flinders natives, 'These people appeared to have been poorly fed as they were much leaner than Esquimaux generally are; they had

never been [30] in communication with white people before, and were at first much alarmed, but very soon gained their complete confidence.' The only other place at which he met with natives was along the southwest coast of Victoria island. There were thirteen Eskimo lodges a few miles to seaward of Cape Hamilton, with the inhabitants of which he established relations. None of the women showed themselves, but all the men were well and cleanly dressed in deerskin. They were all very fat, having evidently abundance of seal's flesh and fat, large quantities of which were carefully deposited in seal-skin bags under the snow. It was difficult, he says, to make them understand that no return was expected for some presents he made them.

But though he met with no more natives, Rae found traces of them in several places. Cambridge bay seemed to be one of their favourite resorts, judging by the numerous stone-marks and several caches of provisions, clothing, etc., deposited on the banks of the river there. He observed that it was doubtless an excellent fishing-station immediately after the breaking up of the ice, since he saw many salmon sporting in the transparent waters in the vicinity. Between Cambridge bay and Pelly point there was nothing to indicate that the Eskimos had recently visited the points at which his party touched. One other observation that he made is worth noticing. The Eskimos, he says, have a great respect for caches of any kind. Some that he had made himself on the southwest coast of Victoria island were left untouched, notwithstanding that one, or perhaps all of them had been seen by the natives.

McClure was the next navigator to fall in with the Eskimos. During the spring of 1851 one of his sledge parties came on five families near Berkeley point, at the southern entrance of Prince of Wales strait between Victoria island and Banks island. They seemed very simple and honest and when presented with anything, they appeared incapable of supposing that anyone would give them an article without expecting an equivalent. His fellow-explorer, Collinson, spent the following winter, 1851-2, in Walker bay, and about fifty of these natives built their snow huts near him. A sledge party under Lieutenant Jago met about a hundred others in Prince Albert sound. None were seen north of 72° 10' N. in Prince of Wales strait.

Collinson sailed east through Coronation gulf in the following summer, and wintered in Cambridge bay. Rae had seen only caches here, but Collinson met the natives themselves. He says: 'The number seen by us in this vicinity I estimated at between two and three hundred, of which between fifty and a hundred returned in the spring; the inner harbour, the large lake west of Mount Pelly, and the peninsula about Cape Colborne, forming their hunting and fishing ground from May until October; at which period they follow the deer to the mainland, where, having first collected together in the neighbourhood of the Finlayson islands, they winter; but the precise spot we did not discover; it could not, however, have been very far from us, as we were visited continually during the winter. I fully expected to have found them on the Finlayson Islands in the spring, as

it was usual for them to come from that direction; but on my visit in April, there were no signs of winter huts, although numerous caches showed them to be a place of great resort.' (1)

For fifty more years this region remained unvisited, then David T. Hanbury in 1902 made a journey from Chesterfield inlet to Ogden bay, and along the coast to the Copper-mine river, which he ascended, as the earlier explorers had done, to Great Bear lake and the Mackenzie river. He first met with the Copper Eskimos, about forty-five people altogether, a few miles inland from Ogden bay; the natives, following their usual custom, gave a dance in his honour. From this point to as far west as Gray's bay small parties of natives were met with in several places; but from there onward no more were seen till he reached the Dismal lakes, where he found four tents, but only three people living in them at the time. Hanbury's journey was one of the most successful that [31] has ever been made in these northern regions, and he has left a very interesting and valuable account of the country he passed through and of the people he encountered.

"1. Collinson, p. 284."

A Danish trapper and trader, Captain C. Klengenberg, with a small schooner, the Olga, spent the winter of 1905-6 in the vicinity of Cape Kendall, on southwest Victoria island. He met a party of the Prince Albert sound natives in the early spring, and they camped near his ship for three days, then disappeared north again. Two years later an American whaler, Captain Wm. Mogg, in the same vessel, wintered in Minto inlet, and met some of the Eskimos there. (1) In 1910, Mr. V. Stefansson, travelling by sled along the coast, visited the Eskimos of Dolphin and Union strait and west Coronation gulf, then continued up the Coppermine to Great Bear lake. In the following year he returned, accompanied by Dr. R.M. Anderson, and visited also the natives of Prince Albert sound. Captain Jos. F. Bernard with his schooner, the Teddy Bear, remained in the country for three years; he spent his first winter, from 1910-11, in a bay a few miles east of the Coppermine river, his second, 1912-13, in Bernard harbour, and the

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"1. Apparently it was Capt. Mogg who collected the specimens of implements and clothing acquired by the American Museum of Natural History from Capt. Cottle in 1907. See Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. II, pt. III, p. 314, et seq."

last, 1913-14, in a little bight behind Cape Kendall on Victoria island.

A few other travellers, working down to the mouth of the Coppermine from Great Bear lake, have met the Eskimos within the last few years. In the summer of 1912, two brothers, G. M. and L. D. Douglas, accompanied by the geologist, Dr. August Sandberg, descended to the mouth of the Coppermine in the course of their investigations into the copper deposits of this region. They fell in with a considerable number of Eskimos of whom they have published some interesting photographs. Messrs. J. Hornby and C. D. Melville lived from 1908 to 1911 on Great Bear lake; they met some of the Eskimos in their first year (2) and many more later. Mr. Melville returned south in 1911, but Mr. Hornby remained for three years longer. (3) Another traveller, Mr. D'Arcy Arden, was at Great Bear lake from 1914 to 1916. He visited the mouth of the Coppermine with a police patrol in the spring of 1916, and returned to Bear lake again in the following summer with Mr. K. G. Chipman, one of the topographers of the Can-

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"2. See Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 259."

"3. These two travellers presented some Copper Eskimo specimens to the Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa, where they are now on exhibition."

adian Arctic Expedition. In 1911, Father Rouvier, of the Order of Mary Immaculate, established a mission on a lake at the head of the Dease river, where Father Le Roux joined him in the following year. At this period the Eskimos were visiting Great Bear lake each summer to trade with the white men and Indians, and in the fall of 1913 the two priests followed some of them north to the mouth of the Coppermine river, and were murdered close to Bloody fall. Two other white men, Messrs. H. V. Radford and T. G. Street, who started from Hudson bay and travelled overland to Bathurst inlet in the summer of 1912, were also killed by the natives. In 1914 the Canadian Arctic Expedition established itself in Dolphin and Union strait and spent two years in exploring the surrounding country. The Anglican mission sent in a party during the summer of 1915; their schooner was blown ashore close to the Croker river, but their leader, the Rev. H. Girling, travelled east in the winter and gained a firm foothold amongst the natives, both in Dolphin and Union strait and in Coronation gulf. Finally, in the summer of 1916, the Hudson's Bay Company established a post in Bernard harbour, which the Canadian Arctic Expedition had just vacated, and other white traders and western Eskimos prepared to follow in their train. The barriers which have separated this country from the outside world for so many centuries have been swept away, and this last outpost of the Eskimo race is now thrown open to the invader. (4)"

"4. See Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, pp. 287, et seq."

"On his first journey along this coast, our only predecessor, Sir John Richardson, saw to seaward near the mouth of Crocker River, what he considered an island lying about twelve miles off shore. He named this Clerk Island. On his second voyage in 1848, apparently Sir John did not see Clerk Island. No one else has traversed the coast, but both Collinson and Amundsen passed at a considerable distance out to sea and neither of them saw the island. In the spring of 1910, we were fortunate in the neighborhood of Crocker River, in having in general clear weather and with my field glasses I used to climb high hills near the coast every few miles and look to seaward hoping to see the island. Had there been an Eskimo village twelve miles to seaward where the island was supposed to lie, I should have been able to see it; but there was no sign of anything but sea ice. In the spring of 1911 we crossed by sled in a direct line from Bell Island for Point Tinney. This should have taken us across the corner of Clerk Island as it is plotted on our charts and again we saw no signs of it. I think it is clear, therefore, that either Clerk Island does not exist or else it is at some place remote from that laid down by Richardson."

"As the relation of the Mackenzie Eskimo to the Indians was an especially aggressive one they had pushed their settlements a considerable distance up into the forest country to the head of the delta, but the larger portion of the Mackenzie Eskimo were on the east coast of Richard Island and on the mainland coast opposite and eastward, thence to the Baillie Islands and beyond. Curiously enough, a large number of these people were known to their immediate neighbors by the name of a village which, for a century at least, has been uninhabited. Kupuk was located on the east coast on Richard Island and was a place favorable for the killing of white whales in summer, but the shifting current of the river made the whaling grounds too shallow and the people had to move across to the mainland to the neighborhood of the present large village of Kittegaryuit, which was the largest of all the Eskimo villages of the Mackenzie section and possibly of all Arctic North America until the great measles epidemic of 1900, when the few remnants got the idea that the site was an unlucky one and moved away. Richardson tells us that from this village alone about two hundred kayaks came out and followed his boats as he was passing. We know that during the white whale season kayaks were used only by the able-bodied hunters so this will show that the population of the Kittegaryuit village alone must have been somewhere between eight hundred and one thousand people. It was not true that the other villages on the coast were all depopulated and their people gathered at Kittegaryuit for the white whale hunt. No doubt a few individuals from the nearest village did so, but the people of the Eskimo Lakes inland were at that season hunting cari-

bou and the people of Point Atkinson told me that they never took part in the Kittegaryuit hunt.

There seem to have been many villages of considerable size east of Kittegaryuit, but the biggest of them next to that of the Baillie Islands was Nuvorak (Point Atkinson), and eventually it became the only inhabited village between Baillie Island and the Mackenzie Delta proper, and even it is uninhabited since the epidemic of 1900, or was so, until the winter of 1911-1912 when a trading schooner anchored there."

8: Cadzow--5-7 (1919) 1920 Copper Eskimo
116, 135, 175

"Deposits of copper in the Coronation gulf district of northwestern Canada were first reported in 1766, when Moses Horton, the Hudson's Bay Company's governor at Fort Prince of Wales on Hudson bay, obtained specimens of this metal from Indians living on the northwest coast of the bay, who had received it from natives farther west, together with the information that there were deposits on a large river in their country. Horton, hoping that the metal could be commercialized, commissioned Samuel Hearne, a young Englishman, to explore the district in which the copper had been discovered, for the purpose of determining whether the locality could be reached by ships from [6] Hudson bay, and if the copper existed in sufficient quantities to pay the company to mine and to ship it to England. (1)

After two unsuccessful attempts, Hearne finally, with much difficulty and almost endless hardship, reached the shore of the river where the deposits were reported. Although he was not a geologist, he verified the statements of the Indians, but proved that the district where the copper occurred was too remote and difficult of access to permit profitable mining, even if ore should be found in abundance. Hearne surveyed the river and named it the Coppermine. While thus employed, the northern Indians who

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"1. See Hearne, Samuel, Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, London, 1795."

had accompanied him discovered and massacred a small party of Eskimo camped on the shore of the stream. These natives were undoubtedly the forefathers of the people who are now called the Copper Eskimo, or Kidnelik (Qidneliq). Hearne reported that native copper was used extensively by them in making utensils and weapons, and brought back a few specimens of their handiwork to Fort Prince of Wales, [7] whence they were shipped to England and all trace of them lost."

8: Cadzow--7 (1919) 1920 Copper Eskimo
116, 175

"Since the time of Samuel Hearne, Coppermine river has been visited by several explorers, and the district, then sparsely occupied by northern Athabascan Indians, was later taken over by the Eskimo, who hunt far inland during the summer for caribou and return to the coast for seal in winter. They no longer fear their hereditary enemies, the Indians, who, on the advent of white traders, moved from the barrens to the timberland, where the climate is less severe and trading stores more accessible."

21: Hearne--258-259 (1771) 1797 Copper Eskimo
116, 175

"It should have been observed, that a number of Indians joined them at Clowey, and intended to accompany them to the Copper-Mine River, with no other object than to murder the Esquimaux, who, they understood, frequented that river in considerable numbers. This horrid scheme, it seems, was universally approved of, and every man equipped himself with a target, before he left the woods of Clowey. Nevertheless, when the women and children were about to be left, only sixty volunteers followed Matonabbee's party; the rest more prudently staid with their wives and families.

As soon as Mr. Hearne was apprized of this barbarous intention, of murdering a people who had done them no injury, he zealously strove to dissuade them from such a design; but so far were his entreaties from being regarded, that they apprehended he was actuated by cowardice, and with many marks of derision, told him, he was afraid of the Esquimaux. Knowing his personal safety depended on the ideas his attendants formed of his courage, he was obliged to change his tone, and affected the hero. He found it in vain, indeed, to attempt to stem the torrent of savage prejudice, or to inspire more humane or just principles, and therefore he in future left them to their own discretion."

"Three Indians were dispatched to look out for any Esquimaux who might be on the banks of the river; and every precaution was taken to prevent an alarm, that the destined victims might fall into their hands without apprehension.

On the morning of the 15th of July, Mr. Hearne began his survey, and proceeded down the river, which was every where full of shoals; and in some places vastly contracted in its breadth. Next day he advanced about ten miles farther, and found it the same.

Soon after they suspended the survey for the day, the three spies returned, and reported that they had discovered five tents, in the most favourable situation for a surprise. All attention to the business of the survey was now suspended; the whole thoughts of the Indians were absorbed in planning the best mode of attack, and of stealing on the poor savages, when asleep, and killing them all.

Having crossed the river in canoes, and got all the weapons in order, each painted a part of his shield with some figure, generally the sun, moon, or some bird or beast of prey, in which they placed their reliance for success in the intended engagement.

From the hurry in which this business was executed, and the deficiency both of skill and colours, most of the paintings had little resemblance to any thing in heaven or earth; but they satisfied the artists, and that was sufficient.

This piece of superstition being completed, they advanced towards the Esquimaux tents with [269] the utmost caution and silence; and though an undisciplined rabble, and by no means accustomed to war, no sooner had they entered on this horrid scheme, than they acted with the utmost uniformity of sentiment. There was neither altercation nor contending opinion; all were united in the general cause, and as ready to follow as Matonabbee to lead.

Never was a reciprocity of interest more generally regarded; and if ever the spirit of disinterested friendship animated the breast of a northern Indian, it was here displayed in glowing colours. Property of every kind ceased to be private: each was proud of an opportunity of supplying the wants of his neighbour.

The attacking party was judged to be quite as numerous as the Esquimaux, in their five tents, could possibly be; and besides, being so much better equipped, nothing less than a miracle was likely to save the poor savages from a general massacre.

The land was so situated, that they walked under cover of the rocks and hills, till within two hundreds yards of the tents. Here they halted, to watch the motions of the enemy, and would have persuaded our author to remain till the engagement was over.

But though he disclaimed having any interference in the deed of death, he thought it more prudent to accompany them; and the Indians were not a little gratified with his promptness to be of the party.

The last ceremonies were now performed, which consisted in painting their faces; some black, some red, and others a mixture of the two. They next made themselves as light as possible [270] for running, by almost stripping themselves naked. Mr. Hearne, fearing he might have occasion to run with the rest, pulled of [sic] his stockings and cap, and tied up his hair as closely as possible.

It was now near one in the morning * of the 17th, when, finding the Esquimaux all still, they rushed from their ambuscade, and fell on the unsuspecting savages, who did not perceive their danger till it was too late to avoid it.

The scene was shocking beyond description. The unhappy victims were surprised in the middle of their sleep; men, women, and children, to the number of twenty, ran out of their tents stark naked, and endeavoured to fly; but the Indians had possession of the land side; and as they did not attempt to throw themselves into the river, the whole fell a sacrifice to unprovoked barbarity.

Their shrieks were most dreadful; but no part of this bloody affair filled our author with deeper horror, than the fate of a young girl, apparently about eighteen. She was stabbed so near him, that she fell down at his feet, and twisted round his legs; so that he could scarcely extricate himself from her dying grasp. He solicited hard for her life;

* It is proper to observe, they were far within the arctic circle, where the sun never sets at this season of the year.

but the murderers made no reply till they had transfixed her with two spears. They then looked sternly at him, and in ridicule, asked him if he wanted an Esquimaux wife.

Though the poor wretch was twining round their spears, they continued their taunts; when Mr. Hearne begged they would at least release her from her misery. On this one of them pierce-[271]ed her through the breast. The love of life, however, prompted her to attempt to ward off the blow, which, in her situation, was the extreme of mercy to inflict.

'My situation,' says our author, 'and the terror of my mind, at the sight of this butchery, can neither be conceived nor described. Though I summoned up all my resolution, it was with difficulty I could refrain from tears: even at this hour, I cannot reflect on the transactions of that horrid day, without the most painful emotions.'

But the brutality of these savages, to the bodies they had deprived of life, was still as shocking, and certainly more inexcusable. Their indecent curiosity in examining the conformation of the women, which they pretended to say differed from their own, made nature revolt at the idea.

When these people were all massacred, seven other tents, on the other side of the river, attracted their notice; but providentially for the Esquimaux, the baggage and canoes had been left some way up the river, and there was no other way of crossing it. The river here was about aighty yards over; and to alarm them, if they could not kill

them, they began firing. The poor Esquimaux, though on the watch, were so much unacquainted with the nature of firearms, that they did not attempt to fly. When the bullets struck the ground, they ran with a vacant curiosity to see what it was. At length one of them was wounded in the leg, which immediately threw them into confusion. They ran to their canoes, and were soon out of the reach of the northern Indians.

Having plundered the tents of the deceased, of all the copper utensils they could find, they [272]assembled on the top of an adjacent hill, and forming a circle with their spears erect, clashed them together, and gave many shouts of victory; frequently calling out tima! tima! or what cheer, by way of derision to the poor surviving Esquimaux, who were standing almost knee deep in the water.

After parading for some time, they set out for their canoes, and sailing under cover of the bank, they approached the other tents, where the Esquimaux, thinking probably they were gone, had returned, and were busy in tying up bundles. These were seized, but the owners fortunately escaped again in their canoes, except one old man, who was too intent on his business, and who fell a sacrifice to their fury; for not fewer than twenty had a hand in his death.

As they were retreating from the first scene of blood, they found an old woman, sitting by the side of the river, killing salmon, which lay very very thick at her feet. Whether from the noise of the fall, or a great defect in sight, she had not been apprized

of the murder of her companions, though not more than two hundred yards distant from the scene of blood; nor did she discover her enemies, till they were just within reach of her.

To fly was in vain. She was pierced through with numerous spears, with the most marked and studied cruelty.

The only instrument that this poor half-blind wretch had to catch salmon with, was a light pole, armed with a few spikes, which she put under water, and pulled up with a jerk. Some of the Indians tried this method of fishing; and so extremely numerous were the salmon at this place, [273] that they seldom brought up less than two at a pull.

These fish, though very fine and beautifully red, were seldom more than about six or seven pounds weight; but their numbers were almost incredible, and equal to any thing related of the shoals in Kamtschatka. Indeed the Esquimaux have scarcely any other means of subsistence than fish.

After having plundered the second encampment, the northern Indians threw the tents into the river, and destroyed a large stock of provisions, merely from the infernal satisfaction of doing all the mischief in their power to the unhappy Esquimaux, who were standing on a distant shoal, the woeful spectators of their loss."

22: Richardson--122-124 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 175

"[JMR: from account of Rae's expedition in the summer of 1849] 'On the 14th we entered the sea, and found a narrow and very shallow channel along the shore of Richardson Bay, until we came to its north side, where the ice lay against the rocks.... Whilst encamped at this place, we were visited by seven Eskimos, one of whom I at once recognized as the active, intelligent man who had afforded Sir John Richardson's party such efficient assistance last season, when crossing the river at the head of Back's Inlet. On inquiry I learnt that they had been well supplied with provisions in the early part of winter and in spring; but that in the interval they had nearly starved, owing to the scarcity of seals, having had to subsist for some time on the skins of the larger species of these animals, which they had reserved for making boots. In the winter they had communicated, either directly or indirectly, with the natives of Wollaston Land, none of whom had ever seen whites, large boats, or ships. They were all made happy by some small presents, and a supply of fish, which they ate raw, and appeared to relish much. They left us near midnight, promising to return next day with some boots and shoes for sale.

On the 16th, by making a number of portages over the ice, we rounded Point Mackenzie and entered Back's Inlet, which was partially open. Having a fine breeze from the east, we set sail and soon ran to its head, when we entered Rae River (discovered and named by Sir John Richardson [123] last autumn); and on proceeding three miles up it, came to the lodges, six in number, of our Eskimo visitors, who said that they had been so much

alarmed at seeing the boat under sail that they were on the point of running away.

'As there was no possibility of our making much progress along shore until the ice wasted a little more, I devoted the two following days to an examination of this river; the Eskimo whom I have already mentioned as our active assistant last year willingly agreeing to accompany us. At the distance of 9 ½ miles from the river's mouth, there is a perpendicular fall of 10 feet, which extends across the stream, except a few yards on the north side, where the rock slopes so much that, during the spring-floods, salmon and white fish are able to ascend, affording the natives a fine opportunity of spearing them....

'At the extreme west point of our journey, we found a party of ten Eskimos with their families, who informed us that the stream maintained the same course and size as far as they had seen it, which was somewhat more than three days' march, or about sixty miles; how much further they knew not, as they had never been to its source. Two of [124] this party returned with us to the boat, where they received presents, which I had some difficulty in getting them to accept, as they said they had nothing to give in exchange. On the evening of the 18th we ran down stream, and landed our guide among his friends, who seemed very glad to see him return safe. They were now much less timid than when we first met them, and we pitched our tent close to theirs, without causing any apparent alarm, although it was afterwards observed that two of the men kept watch during the the night.'

22: Richardson--122-124 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo-3
116, 175

Early on the 19th we took a friendly leave of these simple and inoffensive people, and pulled down to the mouth of the river....'"

22: Richardson--125-126 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo
116, 175

"[JMR: from Rae's account of his party at Cape Krusenstern] 'A few days afterwards, Albert (the Eskimo interpreter) and one of the men, when some distance inland looking for deer, overtook five Eskimos travelling to the interior with [126] loads of salmon, which they had speared in a rivulet that falls into Pasley Cove. From these the interpreter learnt that the sea ice had commenced breaking up only one day before our arrival, and that they had been in company with the natives of Wollaston Land during the winter, none of whom had ever seen Eurpoeans, large ships, or boats.'"

22: Richardson--312-315 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 175

"Among the Eskimos here encamped [JMR: at the Rae river] we recognised two mentioned by Mr. Simpson, one having a wen on his forehead, and the other being a very old man who walked on crutches. The kind treatment and presents they received from Messrs. Dease and [313] Simpson had impressed them with a favourable opinion of the dispositions of white men, and doubtless was the cause of their readiness to come to our assistance, and to put themselves and their families so completely in our power. Our men bought sealskin boots from them, which proved very useful; and we paid the man with the wen, who was the leader, for his services in ferrying us over, with two hatchets, which were of great value to him. I had cautioned every one against offering this harmless, good-natured people any offence; and I must give our men the credit of having strictly adhered to the orders they received. I believe I was the only one who entered any of their huts; and I did so for the purpose of presenting some needles and other articles to the women, and obtaining a glimpse of their ménage. In one tent six or seven women were seated in a circle sewing. They were nearly naked, very dirty, hung their heads down, and seemed to be much afraid. As the females we met on the coast, who showed neither fear nor shame-facedness, were generally clean, I believe that the apprehensions of these poor women had caused them to rub ashes or mud on their faces and persons. They received my presents, but seemed relieved when I took my leave. Before we quitted the encampment, several younger men joined from the northern shore of the inlet; and we

[314] learnt that we had interrupted their day's occupation in killing rein-deer. The more active among them go at this season to the meadows which we had crossed on the previous day, and gradually drive the animals to the inlet, hemming them in, and compelling them, with the aid of their dogs, to take the water. As soon as this takes place, the rest of the party, who are lying in wait in their kaiyaks, paddle towards the herd, and spear as many of them as they can. A considerable quantity of deer's meat was hanging to dry on stages; and we purchased a little of it for our evening meal.

These people told us, as I have mentioned already, that the ice had parted from the shore only a very short time this season, which, they added, was almost unprecedented within their recollection. Their migrations extend only to the lower part of the Coppermine River on one side, and a short way along the coast on the other. They communicate occasionally with the Eskimos of Wollaston Land, but none of them had been so far to the westward as the sources of Rae's River. The want of umiaks was a sufficient indication of the shortness of their migrations seaward.

Our friend with the wen accompanied us three or four miles on our journey, to show us a ford across Richardson's River; but the number of questions he put to Albert respecting the boats, showed [315] that his thoughts were directed to the treasures he expected to find in them; and at length he turned back, after pointing out the direction in which we ought to go. Albert had been told not to mention the place where the boats were left; but

the Eskimos could without the slightest difficulty trace up the foot-marks of so large a party as ours; and I believe that by evening, or early next day, most of the party were assembled in our deserted tents."

[p.13, A]

The Blood Group Genes of the Copper Eskimo[1]

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121 143 [131] This report deals with the blood group and secretor genes of the so-called Copper Eskimo living on Victoria Island and the neighboring mainland, roughly between 100° and 120° west latitude and from the Arctic Circle to 72° north longitude. The report is part of a continuing study under the aegis of the National Museum of Canada of the populations which go to make up the population of Canada.

105 101 [161] The Copper Eskimo form an almost pure-bred population of about 1000 which has been stationary as to numbers since they were first studied by Jenness ('23) in 1913–16. Where they came from and how long they have lived here is unknown. The caribou and seal were their mainstays, providing food, clothing, fuel and housing materials, while in their territory was native copper which they used both for manufacture and for trade. Neither the east nor the west offered greater attractions, while the south was barred by Athapaskan-speaking Indians. It seems probable that they have occupied their present territory for a long time. On the other hand it is not to be imagined that they lived in complete isolation. Their neighbors 300 miles to the west about the delta of the Mackenzie knew of them, but only dimly; they spoke of them as "the people afar off." To the east and southeast they 175 had some slight contact with other Eskimo, and undoubtedly there was some intermar- 648 riage. With the Indians to the south they were apparently in a constant state of war, of small raids of extermination. So the earliest record we have of them is in Samuel Hearne's journal of his journey from Fort Prince of Wales on Hudson Bay to the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1771; in that venture the Indians who accompanied Hearne killed every Eskimo there encamped. Even so, from tales we were told, it is reasonable to believe that in other raids an occasional Indian woman

[1] [footnotes appear on p. 13B.—Analyst]

27:Chown & Lewis 3-5 (1958)1959
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[A 13, B]

The Blood Group Genes of the Copper Eskimo[1]

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[563]

124
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or child may have been spared and incorporated into the population.

As to the other admixtures there was only a rare contact between Eskimo and people other than Indian from 1771 until about 40 years ago. These were not whaling waters. A few explorers and trades entered the area, some of whom married Eskimo women. These events are so recent that children of these marriages are still living, a number of whom we tested. Today there are two small white settlements, that at Cambridge Bay and that at Coppermine, and several still smaller implants.

In the present study 330 out of the total of approximately 1000 were tested. With the help of Corporal and Mrs. D. McDougal of the R.C.M.P., Father LaPointe, O. M. and the Reverend Canon Sperry a detailed genealogy was drawn up. There were no first-cousin marriages.[3] The genealogy could not be carried far enough back to prove or disprove second-cousin marriages. Of the 330, only 10 could be proved to have white ancestors; these 10 were eliminated in gene frequency analysis. Such analysis was carried out for the remaining total 320 and for 46 among them who were apparently unrelated. While there is no significant difference between the two estimates, we think analysis based on the 320 is probably more accurate since phenotypes of low frequency were then represented. The estimates in the tables are so based. There is a high death rate in young adults, so it was unusual to obtain blood from children and both parents. Few genotypes could therefore be defined but in what family data we did obtain, there was no disagreement between expected phenotypes and those found.

[1] Assisted by a grant from the National Museum of Canada. Dr. Jacques Rousseau, Director.
[2] Postal address, 735 Notre Dame Ave., Winnipeg 3, Man., Canada.
[3] See addendum.

women's. Figure 20 shows a rather unusual type of dancing cap, made entirely from sealskin. Most were of short-haired caribou fur, decorated with parallel white bands, or with bands in white, red, and black exactly like outer stockings; many lacked even the fur base, the parallel bands forming the entire body of the cap. Here and there were attached clusters of creamy caribou-skin thongs, and to the crown a white weasel skin that trailed down behind (Figure 21). Inset in most capes, too, from one side to the other over the peak, was the head and neck of a loon, so split that the bill projected upward. Figure 22 shows a typical specimen.

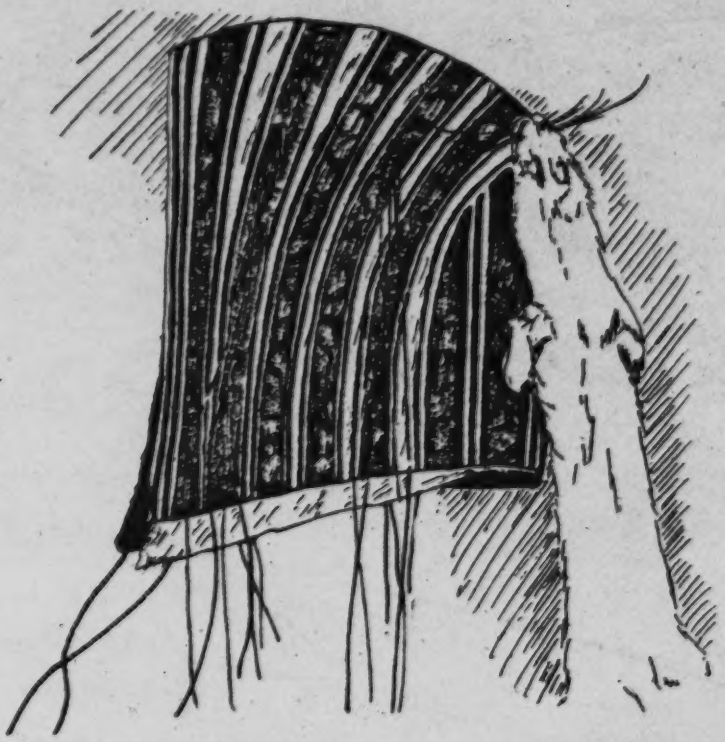

Figure 21. Dancing cap, of caribou fur, with lemming-skin pendant. IV.D.976. Approx. 1/2.

This loon-head ornament probably originated from the use of a complete loon-skin head-dress, such as was current on the Arctic coast of Alaska down to the second half of the nineteenth century.[1] I have never seen a specimen, but

[1] Cf. Simpson, John: The Western Esquimaux: A selection of papers on Arctic Geography and Ethnology reprinted and presented to the Arctic Expedition of 1875, p. 368, London, 1875.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 31]

interesting, because it has been broken across in two places and repaired with six copper bands. Moreover, unlike all the other pots from this region in the possession of the museum, it is made from a biotite chlorite schist. Yet in shape it is almost a duplicate of No. IV.D.676 (Figure 59), the sides in both pots being unusually convex. The latter vessel came from Coppermine River, and is of the usual soapstone (talc chlorite schist) from the quarry near Tree River.

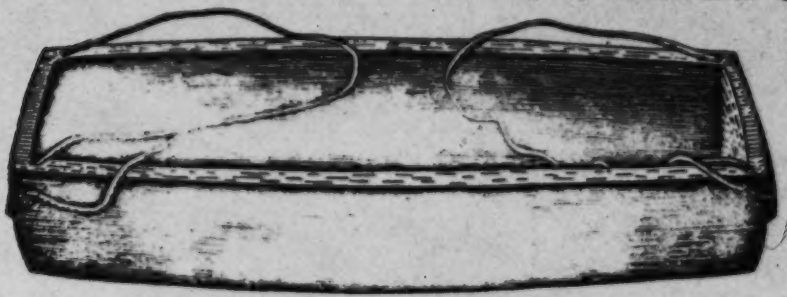

Figure 58. Typical soapstone pot. IV.D.676. Approx. 1/2.

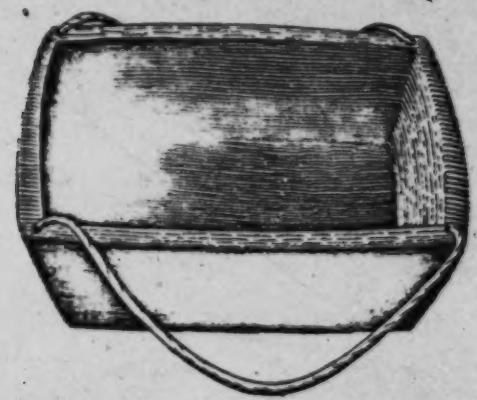

Figure 60. Squarish soapstone pot, now in Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

From an artistic point of view it would seem that the pots of the Copper Eskimo have degenerated during the last 150 years, for Hearne gives a slightly different description of the vessels he saw in the Eskimo encampment at Bloody Fall, near the mouth of Coppermine River. "Some of those kettles are so large as to be capable of containing five or six gallons; and though it is impossible these poor people can perform this arduous work with any other tools than harder stones, yet they are by far superior to any that I had ever seen in Hudson's Bay; every one of them being ornamented with neat mouldings round the rim, and some of the large ones with a kind of flute-work at each corner. In shape they were a long square, something wider at the top than bottom, like a knife-tray, and strong handles of the solid stone were left at each end to lift them up."[1]

[1] Hearne's Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, edited by J. B. Tyrrell. The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1911, p. 199.

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[461] secured to the wood by a complicated series of half hitches, well illustrated by Murdoch.[1] As these back lashings slackened with frequent tension and changing weather conditions, the owner wedged little plaques of wood, skin, or bone

[321]

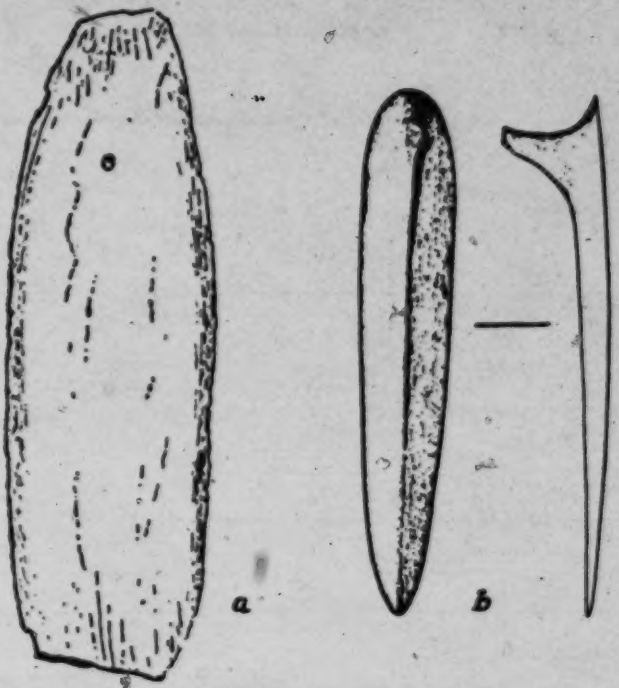

Figure 153. Braces to strengthen the joints of a bow. a: musk-ox horn; b: bone. IV.D.706, 602. 1/1.

beneath them (Figure 154), and when plaques no longer sufficed, he removed the lashings altogether and rewound them, an operation that he could perform in about an hour. Defects in the horns were more serious, but not insuperable. I [461] have seen a native strip a bow down to the bare wood, fit it with two new horns, and relash the weapon ready for use in the space of 4 hours.

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[283]
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[175]

Figure 154. Plaque of rawhide, wedged under the back lashings of the bow. IV.D.79. 1/1.

The bowstring was made from five or six strands of sinew, twisted together. When stringing his weapon, the hunter sat on the ground and pushed the middle of the bow from him with his foot while pulling the horn towards him.

When the party of Indians with whom Hearne travelled in 1771 massacred some Copper Eskimo at Bloody Fall, near the mouth of Coppermine River, Hearne noticed that most of the Eskimo arrow heads bore triangular points of a slate-like stone, whereas the remainder had points of copper.[2] The Copper Eskimo we encountered were using only points of antler, bone, copper, or iron.

[113]

[1] Murdoch, John: A Study of Eskimo Bows in the U.S. National Museum: Report of the U.S. Nat. Mus., 1884, figs. 6-14.

[2] Hearne: op. cit., p. 199.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

anvils with our hunting-knives. Anderson then became strangely reminiscent, and related droll stories of his college days, of the Spanish-American War, and of his experiences on a former expedition to the Arctic. Suddenly he stopped, and Johansen and I returned to the marrow-bones. Nothing remained but fragments. I could account for four bones only, Johansen for only two; Anderson himself had slyly demolished the other eighteen. In fairness, however, I should add that he has always denied the accuracy of these figures.

The long, winding Coppermine enters the sea by two mouths, which are separated from one another by a low, grass-covered island capped with two diabase hills at its northern end. The river is here about three miles wide, but immediately narrows down to a few hundred yards. We encountered nothing but smooth ice for the first ten miles, so smooth that the snow had blown off it in many places. The dogs soon lost their tempers here, for they slid over the ice in all directions when the toboggans stuck fast on the tiniest snow-patch. Steep mud-banks hemmed us in on either side, sloping back to a level plateau in a series of cone-shaped pyramids. We came upon willows growing as high as seven or eight feet, the nearest approach to trees that any of us had seen for many months; and we passed two deserted snow-houses erected by some Eskimos returning from the Dismal Lakes early in the winter. Just as darkness began to close in we pitched our tent

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

three miles from Bloody Fall, where Hearne, the first white man to behold the northern ocean, witnessed the massacre of a whole community of Eskimos by his bloodthirsty bodyguard of Chipewyan Indians.

We, too, had an adventure in this tragic spot, an adventure that savoured of comedy, although it appeared serious enough at the moment. While we were dressing in the morning a tumult arose among the dogs, and Johansen pushed open the flap of the tent to investigate. "Come quickly," he cried; "a big wolf is chewing up the dogs"; and he dashed out to rescue his favourite team leader. We followed, clad only in short breeks and sealskin slippers. The wolf sneaked in front of my sled not ten yards from me, and our rifles lay beyond it. I hurled a large boulder at its head, but it leaped aside, and tried to bury its fangs in my naked leg. I held it off like a dog, gripping the nape of its neck; and it twisted its head around and caught my forearm. Then I tried to throttle it with my left hand, cave-man fashion; but the animal would have mauled me badly, I fear, had it not voluntarily released its grip and slunk away, only to fall from Anderson's bullet. As it was I escaped with a small flesh-wound that, thanks to the germ-free atmosphere of the North, healed almost entirely within a week.

Owing to this accident Anderson decided not to break camp that day, but to utilize the time in caching